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[Since the Kwoma kinship system is of the Omaha type, information on kin terms applied to affinal or consanguinal relatives on an actual or classificatory level of relationship will be found in categories 601 and 602.]

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

464 or else had sent native emissaries, during the previous decade,
648 and had enticed a dozen or more of the young men to leave with them to work either on plantations or in the gold fields. The old men had strongly opposed this because it put a great economic burden on them to have so many able-bodied men
[593] leave the tribe. Mothers feared that their sons would never return alive, sisters were left without brothers to help and protect them, and the young women were left with fewer
[412] lovers. On the positive side, however, the families of the recruited boys were given axes, knives, plane irons for adz celts, and other European articles which were extremely valuable to the Kwoma who had hitherto known only tools of
[439] stone, wood, and bone. Then the young men came back from their work with more tools and with money with which to buy pigs and shells from the river natives as well as with many tales of the wonders of white technology and the peculiarities of white customs. Yat, Kar, and Kis were the only ones to go from Rumbima.

829 When we arrived, therefore, white men were classed in two
123 categories: government agents and recruiters.[28] The former were dangerous; the latter both annoying and useful. Since we arrived with the patrol officer, we were first classed as "government." Furthermore, since we came at a time when the patrol officer was trying to force runaways to return, many of the people of Hongwam believed that we were special emissaries sent to bring these fugitives to justice. It was not until we had lived in the community for four months that we even saw these young men. On the other hand, since we brought many boxes of supplies and trade goods, we were classed in part as recruiters. In fact, the older men continually warned us not to entice young men to leave the tribe with us. Wof put it: "Don't take Gwiyap and Mar to America with you. We need them to help with the work of the hamlet." Their fears came true, for when I left with a recruiter, Gwiyap, Mar, Mes, and four other boys "signed on" with

[28] The Kwoma had had so little contact with missionaries and traders that these people hardly formed distinct categories.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

Kwoma culture defines this as immoral only on the part of the boy.

Although a Kwoma becomes considerably more independent on entering the status of childhood, he still relies upon his parents in cases of serious injuries or sickness. If he has a bad boil, a parent or older sibling will lance it for him with a bamboo knife. They treat his sores by irrigating them with warm water in which certain herbs have been cooked. The cooked herbs are used as a sponge and the medicated water is squeezed over the sore. They pick away the proud flesh so that the wound does not heal over too quickly, and force the child to sit quietly in the sun so that its rays strike the sore. When a child suffers from an ache in the stomach or head or from a sprained and swollen joint, one of his parents will practice phlebotomy upon him as they did during the weaning period. Parents react to serious sickness in their children by specialized anti-sorcery behavior to be described later. A child cooperates in these activities, but the responsibility rests with the parents.

A child's environmental horizon widens upon his entry into childhood. When he ranges into the forest with his playmates and accompanies his parents to swamp and garden, he comes into contact with aspects of the environment which may be injurious. He learns to cope with them more and more by himself. Sometimes he discovers that aggression, at other times avoidance, is the more appropriate response. He kills scorpions, lizards, and small snakes which threaten him, but learns to avoid the larger animals. If a large snake appears on the path, he will walk around it. He keeps away from places where he may meet wild pigs or crocodiles. He learns not to step on sago bark unless the thorns have been removed and therefore to take care in walking in the mud of the swamp. He learns which of the bushes and shrubs in the forest bear nettles and which can be walked through with impunity. He learns to predict when a storm is coming so that he may return to the house before it begins to rain.

A child's parents and older siblings continue to help him avoid these dangers by warning him. In consequence, a child

I: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

returned the taunt, whereupon Fit hit him on the head with his fist. Mey scrambled up, grabbed a burning brand from the fire, and ran after Fit, who had started to flee. Mey managed to strike Fit twice on the back before the latter made good his escape. The next day Mey reported that Fit had stolen or destroyed the contents of his (Mey's) net bag and fled to his mother's house in another hamlet.[14] Fit did not return for a month. All went well for about two weeks thereafter. Then one afternoon the two began wrestling at a time when Fit had a razor blade in his hand. Fit lost his temper in the scuffle and cut a deep gash in Mey's lip. He then ran away, but, hearing indirectly that Mey did not bear a grudge, returned after a couple of hours. Two weeks later Fit stole a knife from Mey and again ran away to his mother.

A child is sometimes aggressive even toward his mother and father. For the most part, he expresses it indirectly in such ways as grumbling under his breath when he receives an order from them, or insulting them behind their backs. Sometimes, however, the tendency to aggression becomes strong enough to overcome fear of retaliation. Gwiyap reported that, when he was a child, he had been infuriated with his father for scolding him, had seized a spear, and had attempted to run it through his parent, but someone present had prevented him from carrying out his purpose. He also told of an occasion when he had struck his stepmother. She had been sitting by the fire cooking and had asked him to pass her a ladle. He delayed in doing it, and she began to scold him. He became angry at this and "punched her in the nose." She picked up a stick to beat him with, but he ran away. Mey reported a similar story of an occurrence several years before. He said that he was lying on a platform which was built shoulder high on the limb of a tree in front of his house. He had a sharpened stick in his hand and was lying in wait for his mother because he was angry with her. Finally, she came close to the platform and he jabbed her several times as hard as he could on her head and shoulders. According to

[14] Fit's father had died, and his mother had married a man of another sib.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

865 Mey's story, the blows knocked her down and gave him a
• 593 chance to scramble off his perch and dash away. His mother
[604] chased him, but he had too great a start. Both Gwiyap and Mey reported that they stayed at a *paternal uncle's* house after these incidents until their parents' anger had cooled. When they returned, they got a scolding but were not otherwise punished.

867 A child is taught to be polite, not aggressive, toward those
602 of his relatives who do not dwell in the hamlet. He learns to behave properly toward his *mother's brother*, his *mother's sister*, his *father's sister*, and their children. A child's parents teach him to greet[15] these persons and to address each of them by the appropriate kinship term. Although these relatives seldom command a child, he is expected to obey them when they do. Not only is a child punished by his parents if he is rude to one of these relatives, but he is warned that unless he behaves nicely toward them, they will "break relationship"[16] with him. Then they will be like non-relatives, and he may no longer visit them with the expectation of a warm welcome. He may not eat food at their house lest they sorcerize him. Finally, he can no longer avail himself of the special privileges that his relationship to them implies. To the young child this threat of a broken relationship has little meaning; he is polite to his uncles and aunts because he has
[604] learned that it is expedient to obey his parents. As he becomes older and discovers that he may help himself to the produce of the garden and sago plot of his *mother's brother*, and that his *father's sister* gives him something to eat whenever he visits her and treats him just as does his own father but never scolds him, the threat of the loss of these privileges begins to become meaningful and he takes care to behave properly toward them.

[572] A child also learns to behave appropriately (i.e., to be polite and friendly, not aggressive) to the children of his

[576] [15] Greeting consists of repeating an abbreviated form of the phrase, "You and I may eat together without fear of sorcery."

[16] Any kin relationship may be broken, in which case the two persons behave toward one another as non-relatives. This will be described in more detail in later chapters.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

865 Social sanctions as well as fear of retaliation play a part in determining the manner in which a child will react to pain from the social environment. Custom as well as natural expediency dictates when it is appropriate to be aggressive, when submissive. Custom also specifies the manner in which either of these responses may be expressed. Members of the community stand ready to punish deviations from custom.

A child is punished for being too submissive. If he runs away when he has a right to retaliate, members of the hamlet who observe such action scold him for being cowardly. If he is afraid to join in the childhood games, he is teased for acting like a baby, especially if he runs away when both he and his brother are attacked. An instance of this occurred when Gwiyap, Mey, and Fit were playing the "homosexual" game. Gwiyap caught Fit and threw him down, and Mey ran away.
• [593] The boys' uncle, Yat, who was watching, scolded Mey severely for running away when his *brother* needed help. "If your *brother* is in trouble, it is your duty to fight for him."

Children are punished for being inappropriately aggressive. If a child is aggressive when he should be submissive, or more aggressive than the circumstances warrant, he is called to task by members of the community who observe it. Kwoma children may tease, punish, or scold a younger sibling, but
[602] may not actually injure him. A child is continually being lectured about the great value which his relatives will have for him throughout his life in terms both of defense and of economic aid. Parents say: "You and your *brother* are 'one blood.' If you hurt him, you hurt yourself." For a boy, the sanction against hurting a *sister* is more severe than that against hurting a *brother*. An aggressive act which, if made toward a *brother*, would pass unnoticed, is punished if made toward a *sister*.

The reaction of the community to the fight reported above between Mey and Fit illustrates the operation of the social
[602] sanction on aggressive behavior. Several older *brothers* of the two boys were sitting around the breakfast fire when the fight started. Their reaction was one of laughter and of egging the boys on. Soon after I asked Gwiyap, who had been

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

pig. He managed to drive his spear into the side of a wild boar but the animal charged at him. Nowel sidestepped the beast but the handle of the spear struck him and gave him an ugly bruise on the forehead. The day after this experience he stopped at my house. Yat, Wof, and War happened to be present and asked Nowel how he had come by the bruise. When he told them, they blamed him instead of sympathizing. They said that it was a wonder that he had not been killed and asked him if he thought that he was already a man that he should have attempted such a thing.

Adolescent boys are not expected to make the tools necessary for their economic pursuits. Although each has an adz which he uses as a tool of all work, it is made for him by his father or *paternal uncle*. The lime gourd and stick, which a boy uses for preparing betel for chewing, are also made and given to him by his father or by his *paternal uncle*, the net bag, which he uses as a carryall, by his mother or his sister. Indeed the following case shows that they are prevented from manufacturing tools. Mes and Mar decided to make a canoe together. They cut down the tree and began hollowing it out under the direction of Nambomai, a river native who was working for me. When War heard what these two boys were doing, he forbade them from continuing the work. He said that they were not old enough. As soon as War was out of hearing, Mar and Mes protested that it was none of War's business and that they were not going to obey him. They worked on the canoe one more day and then gave it up. The canoe was never finished. Adolescent girls, on the other hand, are expected to produce tools. They make net bags both for themselves and for their brothers. They carry out the entire process, stripping the bark from the proper tree, preparing it, rolling it into thread on their thighs, and netting it; women's bags are voluminous, men's smaller. Adolescent girls also make bark-fiber fishing nets.

These economic activities are all in some way associated with the satisfaction of hunger. It would be inaccurate, however, to assume that these customs are maintained by this drive alone, for sex also plays a part in impelling Kwoma

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

back,[22] and never to leave the hamlet unless she wears her bag. When she meets a man on the path, she must step aside with her back to the path and must not speak to him until he has passed her.

A girl, like a boy, normally has her first experience in sexual intercourse during adolescence. She, too, must be secretive in this behavior, but for reasons quite different from those which force a boy to hide his philandering. The only danger which a girl faces from a non-relative in her sexual adventures is that of rape or of being aggressively attacked. In contrast to the boy, she stands in no danger of punishment from the relatives of her lover if she is discovered. Her own relatives, particularly her brothers, are the ones from whom she must hide her behavior. It is they who try to prevent her from philandering because, if she gets a reputation for being loose, and particularly if she becomes pregnant, her value as a potential wife is decreased and her brothers will be unable to get such a high bride-price when she marries. The Kwoma rationalization for the bride-price is, in fact, that it is a payment by the husband to the brothers of his wife for having kept her pure and unblemished up to the time of her marriage. Since a brother uses the bride-price paid for his sisters to buy his own wife or wives, it is not a matter of indifference to him if his sister loses her reputation. If a girl becomes pregnant, therefore, she may expect a severe scolding and perhaps a beating from her father or brothers.

The pressures exerted upon an adolescent girl lead her to solve her sexual problem in a somewhat different manner from the boy. As has already been shown, it is she who makes the advances rather than the boy, which she can do since she runs no risk of punishment from the boy's relatives. A second consequence of the differential sanctions is that, since the girl risks punishment from her own relatives, it is more danger-

[22] The woman's net bag is hung from the forehead down the back and when empty reaches almost to the knees. It thus functions as an article of clothing as well as a carrying device.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

836 ous for her to philander within the hamlet. From this it
[835] would be expected that she would be less likely to violate the
incest prohibitions than would a boy. Since my only data on
[124] the sexual affairs of adolescent girls were obtained from male
informants, it is impossible to check this deduction.

882 By the time a Kwoma has reached adolescence he has learned to cope with most of the environmental dangers. He continues to react to these with either aggression or avoidance, depending on circumstances, previous practice, and the dictates of custom. With his increase in size, however, aggression comes more and more to replace avoidance as a response to a threat of pain. Animals and reptiles which loom large to him as a child now seem less ferocious. He kills them instead of fleeing from them. The adolescent likewise depends less upon his parents and relatives to help him cope
[757] with sickness. He now attends to his own sores, instead of
asking his parents to treat them. When he has a headache,
[593] stomach-ache, or sprained joint he sometimes bleeds himself, but more frequently requests a brother to make the slashes for him, returning the favor when his brother needs to be bled.

[754] A boy comes into more direct contact with the sorcery complex during adolescence. Philandering and increased motility bring him into greater danger from this source; and he now must support the adults of the hamlet in anti-sorcery behavior when one of his relatives falls sick. He does not take the lead in this aggressive reaction to sickness, but discusses with the adults the probable identity of the sorcerer and attends, but does not participate in, the sorcery court.[23]

[795] Adolescents still believe that ghosts are dangerous and simultaneously avoid and curse them. They are still nervous whenever they have to venture very far from their dwelling in the dark, but they dare go farther at night than do chil-
[769] dren. They keep at a distance from burial platforms and the "land of the dead." They are jumpy about strange noises at night, and take particular care not to whistle at this time.

[23] The anti-sorcery complex will be described in detail in chap. vi, pp. 137–8.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

882 602 554 156 865 done, called to Gwiyap to come back, and promised not to eat any more. Gwiyap refused either to return or to answer and avoided Mar for the rest of the day. He spoke insultingly of Mar when I questioned him about the event.

882 593 602 865 An adolescent boy continues to behave toward his parents and his *paternal uncles* and *aunts* as he did in childhood. He obeys their commands, lies to them when they accuse him of wrongdoing, and is secretive in doing things that he expects them to punish. If he is aggressive toward them, it usually takes the form of disobedience or grumbling. Occasionally he may talk back to them and sometimes even attack them. Informants reported the case of an adolescent boy who had speared and killed his father a few years before my arrival. He had fled after he had committed this crime and was still living in a neighboring tribe.[28]

882 835 602 578 152 The *sisters* of an adolescent boy constitute a sexual temptation to him, since they are the most available sexually mature, unmarried women in the tribe and live in the same hamlet. If he philanders with them, he does so in the face of negative sanctions and of fear of punishment from their *brothers* if he is caught. Even if he dare not have sex relations with them, they nevertheless may evoke in him the desire to do so, and thus produce emotional conflict. To avoid their presence might be the adaptive response under the circumstances, but the necessities of common living and the economic coöperation between *brother* and *sister* militate against this solution. The alternative response of aggression to the frustration which they produce would be dangerous to in-group solidarity and has, furthermore, been strongly punished during childhood. Kwoma culture provides the boy with a solution to this dilemma in the form of a socially permitted joking relationship. This consists of license to exchange insults of a sexual character, mostly mutual accusations of breaking sexual taboos, particularly those of incest.

[682] [28] No drastic sanctions are imposed against patricide since the father has no relatives closer than his son to avenge him. Such an act is considered "unnatural," however, and the murderer is shunned. This was probably the reason for the person cited above leaving the tribe.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

that the boy has hitherto enjoyed, but in addition, since breaking the relationship removes the bars that are erected by kinship ties against aggression, may actually threaten the boy.

An adolescent boy may break his relationship with any adult or adolescent[32] relative. This is the first step that he must take either implicitly or explicitly if he is seriously aggressive toward a relative. After a relationship is broken, all the restraints described in the preceding paragraphs against injuring a relative no longer apply, at least in theory.[33] The two behave toward one another as non-relatives, and the control on aggression between them operates thenceforth as it does between any non-relatives. Sorcery, physical violence, and insult now become both potential dangers and potential weapons. Furthermore all obligations of mutual cooperation are abrogated. To threaten to break a relationship is thus in itself a form of aggression of considerable power. Adolescents learn to use this threat in order to force relatives to fulfill their obligations to them, and as a means of counter-aggression. To use this form of aggression a boy must be courageous, for it lays him open to injury from his opponent.

The following case illustrates the operation of this mechanism in Kwoma society. Gwiyap had for some time availed himself of the privilege of cutting sago from the plot of his *maternal uncle*, Payap. One day War, Gwiyap's *paternal uncle*, learned what Gwiyap was doing and commanded him to stop. War claimed that he was more closely related to Payap than was Gwiyap and proved his point by reference to genealogy. Since a reciprocal economic relationship is only set up between the closest living *mother's brother* and

[32] It is not until adolescence that a person is considered to have enough responsibility to break a relationship. Relationships, however, may be broken for a child by his parents.

[33] The training which a Kwoma receives during his lifetime to inhibit aggression toward a relative cannot at once be dissipated by simply saying, "My relationship with you is broken." The proposition remains relatively true, however.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

CHAPTER VI

ADULTHOOD

884 304 A KWOMA boy becomes an adult[1] when he receives the keloids which are a symbol of manhood. The scarification ceremony[2] occurs when he has grown to full stature and is ready to marry.[3] This initiation takes place at one of the house tamberans where all the boys of the proper age are operated on at a single ceremony. Each boy, when his turn comes, lies on a sago spathe. While the father of his [606] future wife holds his hands, a special operator incises two semicircular cuts above each nipple and rubs ashes into them [608] to make a raised scar. All boys who are cut on the same spathe become *friends*, a relationship established by the mixture of their blood which it is believed makes them "one blood" like *brothers*.

A girl enters adulthood in a slightly different and less public manner. She also is cut with other girls of her age, to each [608] of whom she becomes a *friend;* but the operation takes place at the dwelling of the operator, instead of the house tamberan, and the design of her keloid is an elaborate circular figure centered about the navel. I do not know who holds her hands during the operation.

885 By the time a Kwoma man has become adult, he has learned most of the techniques of food getting. Even as an adolescent 593 he has assumed considerable responsibility for producing food. As an adult his economic duties are even more insistently sanctioned. An adolescent need only contribute to the support of his father's family, but an adult must produce

[115] [1] The adults of Rumbiina hamlet whose behavior was most closely observed were Wof, Marok, War, Kar, Kis, Yat, Way, Waramus, and Mes. Kar, Kis, Yat, and Mes, since they spoke pidgin English, were my best informants on this period. (See household map and lineage chart in chap. I.)

[2] This ceremony should not be confused with either the age-grade or cult initiation ceremonies which occur during adolescence.

[582] [3] In the majority of cases, a boy marries shortly after the scars are healed, so his wedding also corresponds with his entry into adulthood.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

the grubs, which are considered a delicacy roasted; and she picks up the windfalls from edible varieties of wild fruit trees. These are subsidiary economic tasks for the woman, but, if she neglects them, her husband will criticize her. Her own wish for these additions to her diet also provides a motive for this work.

A woman continues during adulthood to perform many of the tasks that she learned during childhood and adolescence. She is responsible for keeping the household supplied with firewood and water until she has daughters old enough to take over this work. It is her duty to build the fire in her hearth, to plan and prepare the midday meal, and to keep on hand a supply of sago briquettes. Her husband sees to it that she performs these wifely duties, criticizing and even beating her if she is unduly lazy or negligent.

The men and women of a family share the responsibility of caring for the domesticated animals. It is the man who captures wild pigs whenever he spears a sow with a litter. After he brings them home, he tethers them to stakes near the house, where his wife and children feed them sago pulp mash until they are habituated to the dwelling; then he allows them to go free and forage for themselves. The wife has the responsibility of feeding them whenever they return to the dwelling or calling them to be fed if they stay away for more than a day. Special care is taken of a pregnant sow. Husband and wife coöperate in watching her so that they can catch and tame the offspring before they run wild. The man castrates all male pigs because it is believed that boars cannot be domesticated. The litters born to domesticated sows are therefore sired by wild boars. A domesticated pig is speared and butchered and its flesh used in the same manner as wild pigs, and the same taboo against eating its flesh applies to the man who kills it.

One or more dogs are attached to every Kwoma family. Each dog is individually owned, and is fed and cared for by his master or mistress. Some dogs are trained for hunting. To do this a man must teach the dog to follow pig tracks in the forest but not in the hamlet, for if a man's dog chases and

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

224 strangled by hand or are snared by means of a running noose
[857] tied to the end of a stick. A man sometimes constructs a small deadfall trap in the granary or dwelling to catch stray rats, but more frequently he sets a hunting dog on these pests.

224 If a man does not use a bow and dart or spear to kill small
262 animals, the belief about his blood does not strictly apply.
[826] He may eat them without harm. Many Kwoma, however, do not take the chance of eating something which has been killed even in this way, and give the meat to some other member of their family.

224 Opossums and birds of paradise are exceptions to the
703 lack of interest in small game. A man may expend consider-
237 able effort hunting these, not because of their food value, but
223 because they yield homicidal insignia. A man who has taken the head of an enemy is permitted to wear a band of opossum fur on his forehead and bird of paradise plumes in his comb. Hence a man who already has the privilege of wearing such insignia eagerly seeks them, and one who does not yet have the privilege seeks them to use in the future or to give to a *brother* or *uncle*.

252 Processing sago is a continual chore for Kwoma adults of
593 both sexes. The technique which they master during adoles-
885 cence has been described in the preceding chapter. The only change which occurs at adulthood is that the work group is composed of a man and his wife rather than of a brother and
[439] his sister. The habits of processing sago are maintained by
[476] the family's need for an everyday supply of sago flour, for a
[796] surplus to be traded with the river people for fish, and for contributions to necessary work bees and ceremonial feasts.

226 An adult woman continues to fish as she did during her
462 adolescence and childhood. Since marriage is patrilocal, she
[591] fishes in a new locale with the women of her husband's hamlet.
[433] The main fish supply comes from trade; consequently fishing
[487] is only a supplementary occupation in an economic sense and is engaged in primarily for recreation.

222 A woman supplements the larder with edible produce from
462 the forest. She collects the leaves of certain wild trees for use as greens; she searches in the dead butts of sago palms for

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

593 833 A woman supposedly takes the initiative in sexual intercourse even after marriage. It is the wife who visits her husband's bed. Informants admitted that the husband sometimes takes the lead, but that much more frequently the woman does so. The Kwoma men spoke of this custom as being related to that of the woman taking the initiative in clandestine love affairs and courting.

834 833 A man may not have sexual intercourse with his wife when she is menstruating, lest his penis be damaged by menstrual blood; nor when she is obviously pregnant, lest he damage the foetus; nor when she has an infant still at the breast, lest she have a second child and thus be forced to neglect the first one;[21] nor when he has just returned from a cult ceremony, lest his recent contact with the cult spirits harm the woman. This last restriction lasts from one to three nights, depending on the degree of sacredness of the ceremony. In any case he must wash himself carefully before lying with his wife to remove the dangerous spirit "infection." Finally, a husband and wife take care not to copulate while their children are still awake.

837 A Kwoma man's sexual behavior is not restricted to intercourse with his wife. He continues to have affairs with other women in a manner similar to that described for adolescents. He carries on his affairs secretly at carefully arranged trysts. He must be very careful not to stare at another man's wife, lest it cause suspicion, and must wait for the woman to take the initiative, lest she bring upon him the wrath of her

[593] [833] [613] [192] [196]

describe their feeling about brother-sister incest. In this context the effect may be derived from the punishments which a child receives during the weaning period for trying to sit in the lap of, sleep next to, and otherwise gain physical contact with, his mother. It is possible that if a man should sleep in contact with his wife, this earlier situation would be to some extent recreated and he would have feelings which he describes as *komba* as a result. The fact that Gwiyap referred this feeling to fear of the big men of the hamlet suggests that it may be related to the Oedipus situation. It should be remembered that at the same time that the mother no longer permits her infant to sleep next to her, the taboo on sexual intercourse which applied during the infancy of her offspring is lifted and the father, when he visits the mother at night, literally takes the place vacated by the child.

[21] Polygyny and philandering lessen the frustration of all these restrictions.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

423 man belongs govern where he has the right to build his house,
611 plant his garden, and gather sago flour. In order to clarify
428 this principle it is necessary to show the relation between these descent groups and land.

423 Each family line has control of a not too clearly delimited
351 district near the house tamberan of the hamlet on which its
594 male members build their houses. The exact site is decided
613 by the builder with the consent of the other men of the family line. The districts of each family line are clustered with re-
241 spect to their lineage affiliations. The gardening land which
423 immediately surrounds the hamlet is divided into large sec-
613 tions belonging to the various lineages of the hamlet, and
59 each of these is subdivided into districts controlled by the various family lines. Similarly, each lineage controls one or more sections of gardening land in the outlying districts of the subtribe and several sections of the sago swamp. Each of these plots is subdivided into subplots administered by the family line. If a man wishes to plant a garden or extract sago flour, he must choose a site on one of these subplots and must obtain the consent of the other members of his family line.

59 The number of persons in a family line is kept relatively constant through adoption. Those lines who have few or no
[423] sons adopt boys from more numerous family lines. By this
[428] process the relationship between men and land is kept relatively constant in a society where land may be neither bought, sold, nor willed to a particular heir.

885 The responsibility for defending property rights in land,
421 produce, and tools falls more fully on the shoulders of a man
593 during adulthood than during the earlier periods of his life.
602 He not only must defend his own property against theft and trespass, but must assume most of the responsibility for preventing property violations against members of his immediate family and for helping his relatives to defend their rights against outsiders.[18] In order to prevent trespass or theft

[685] [18] Theft and trespass are considered to be aggressive acts by the Kwoma, and sanctions and retaliation with respect to them are discussed in detail below.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

from the house when the entire family leaves it to go to the garden, the sago spathe door to the inner room of the dwelling is closed and barred in a particular manner so that the head of the house will know if anyone tampers with it. To prevent persons from pilfering his garden, a man casts a magical spell so that anyone who enters the garden will break out in boils.

If the owner of property catches a thief in the act of stealing, he may attack him physically or may threaten to do so. If, however, the owner notices that some of his property has been stolen or disturbed, but is not sure of the identity of the culprit, he may publicly accuse the person whom he suspects, stating his reasons for suspicion and threatening aggressive action unless adjustment is made. If the evidence is so clear that the accused cannot deny the charge, he will normally pay the accuser damages in order to maintain "safe" relations. If, however, the accused is not guilty or if the case is not clear, the matter will be settled by a court meeting.[16] A court meeting may also be called to discover the identity of the culprit if the thief or trespasser is unknown.

A few examples of theft and trespass will illustrate this formal structure. Yat, a young man of Hayamakwo sib and Rumbima hamlet, built a pig blind on the edge of one of his sago patches. He visited it one day and found that it had been destroyed, and that a taboo fence[17] had been erected across his path to the blind. He suspected Dowar, also a Hayamakwo but a member of Sumwe Sumwe hamlet,[18] who owned the property next to his. On returning home he told his wives about the matter and went to the Rumbima house tamberan that evening to announce his anger. Those present agreed with his suspicions, and the evening was spent discussing the evil ways of the people of Sumwe Sumwe. The

[16] The procedure at a court meeting for property disputes is identical to that at the sorcery court described below.

[17] A taboo fence consists of the branch of a tree or a sago frond placed across a path. The implication of such a fence is that "anyone who goes down this path does so at his own risk and in the face of my threat."

[18] The Sumwe Sumwe split off from the Rumbima several years before as a result of a quarrel.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

tongue, however, and told me that most of the women of the hamlet were afraid of her. Finally the shouting subsided, and that evening Yat and Wof, Mar's *uncle* and foster father, discussed the affair calmly, decided that Yawa was guilty of stealing the grubs, and arranged for Kafa and Yat to be repaid in kind with grubs taken from one of Mar's plots. When Wof returned home, he lectured Yawa severely for her offense and threatened to beat her if she did it again.

A Kwoma weds soon after he becomes adult. Adolescent courtship, culminating in the trial marriage in which the girl comes to live with the boy's parents, is finally terminated, if all goes well, by a special ceremony which makes the couple man and wife. The boy's mother determines when this ceremony shall take place. If she is satisfied with the girl and knows that her son is also, she tells her to cook the food for the afternoon meal. Hitherto the betrothed has cooked food only for herself, and the boy's food has been prepared by his mother or sisters. The mother chooses an occasion when the boy is away from the house, so that, when he returns, he begins eating his soup unsuspectingly. When he has nearly finished his first bowl, his mother informs him that it was his betrothed who cooked the meal and that he is now married. At this announcement, it is expected that the boy will rush from the house and exclaim as he spits out the soup: "Faugh! It tastes bad! It is cooked terribly."

After the wedding ceremony, the couple live together as man and wife, and the customs which regulate marital sexual behavior apply to them. They never sleep in the same bed but lie alone on separate bark slabs, joining only for copulation, which is performed with a minimum of embracing and foreplay. All informants insisted that a husband and wife should not sleep together. When I asked Gwiyap if he might not sleep with his wife on cold nights, he replied, "No, I would be ashamed to." I asked why and he replied, "It is a bad thing to do. The big men like my uncle War would be cross. It is his duty to take care of me and see that I do nothing wrong."[20]

[20] *Homba*, "shame" or "guilt" is the same word which Kwoma use to

685 621 578 885 583 585 593 833 513 [192] [196]

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

and since it is difficult to get helpers to leave their own work for more than one day at a time, housebuilding is usually slow. A year or more often elapses between setting the central post and lashing the final shingle in place. A young married man chooses a level plot near his father's house for a site. Sometimes two brothers will build a house together and share it, but more often each builds one of his own. Since the thatched houses at Kwoma do not last indefinitely, a man usually has to build several during the course of his lifetime. Old men live in their houses until these become too dilapidated to give adequate shelter, and then move in with one of their sons.

Toward dangers from the natural environment, the Kwoma adult behaves in much the same way as he did during adolescence. He is somewhat more bold in coping with dangerous animals, particularly wild pigs, for he now begins to hunt them. He still respects supernatural dangers and heeds the warnings issued during the previous periods of his life concerning *marsalai*, ghosts, and sorcery.

As an adult, a man may come in closer contact with *marsalai* by joining the second stage of the yam cult. If he gains enough prestige by aggressively defending his rights, if he shows himself to be a good worker, if he becomes adept at one of the ceremonial accomplishments such as singing, gong beating, flute playing, or dancing, if, in fine, he shows promise of becoming a "big older brother man," he will be asked to join the other section of the yam cult.[26] If he does so, the initiation ceremony is less formal than was his first entry into the house tamberan at adolescence. He learns definitely at this time that the opposite section is similar to his own, differing only in minor variations in ritual and paraphernalia. Thenceforth he has the privilege of attending either or both of the ceremonies, a gain in prestige, in rapport with the *marsalai*, and in opportunities for singing, dancing, and feasting.

[26] The yam cult, it will be remembered, is in two sections, *Yenama* and *Minjama*. Every male is elected into one or another of these sections during adolescence. If a boy enters *Yenama* during adolescence, the next step is to become a member of *Minjama*, and vice versa.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

765 and the bones, which are by this time dried and bleached by the weather, are taken from the platform and distributed to *friends* of the deceased. The best *friend* gets the mandible, the second best receives the clavicle, and the third best one of the arm bones. The oldest son inherits the femurs, which he may fashion into daggers. The remaining bones are buried under the floor of the house in which the deceased has lived. After the bones have been distributed, everyone who attends the funeral[27] joins in a big feast, which is a joyous occasion. Those who have fasted eat the food which they have denied themselves, and those who have worn clay wash. There is a great deal of joking and merriment, and when the meal is finished the men go to the nearest house tamberan, where they beat rhythms on the gongs, play the sacred flutes, dance, and sing. Only those males who have received their keloids are allowed to attend.[28]

885 571 A Kwoma adult lives in an environment of people who may cause him pain to an even greater extent than the natural and supernatural environments. They beat, insult, scold, punish, sorcerize, and even threaten to kill him. He has already had a long apprenticeship in learning to anticipate these pains. By adulthood, a Kwoma has learned to differentiate the various categories of relatives, non-relatives, and foreigners. Toward threats from each of these categories of persons he responds with acts which his culture defines as appropriate. If he does not do so, he may expect pain from another source, from those members of his society who sanction custom.

885 • 593 602 A man's parents and *paternal uncles* and *aunts* still command and punish him as they did when he was a child. Now the punishments take the form of scolding and criticism, as

[27] Everyone in the subtribe is usually invited.

[28] A young man from a neighboring tribe who was not yet scarified was severely beaten and almost killed for entering the house tamberan at such a time. This man had killed his wife with an adz in a fit of rage and had fled from his own tribe to escape the wrath of his wife's relatives, taking refuge with his mother's relatives at Hongwam. The Kwoma all considered him crazy, and indeed he did exhibit some psychotic symptoms. It is probable that these circumstances were in part responsible for the beating he received.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

he is too big to be spanked or beaten. The habit of obeying their commands has been so firmly implanted that, for the most part, he continues to do so even though the parent may not have the strength to punish disobedience physically. More often than when he was an adolescent, however, he ignores the commands of his aged parents. He is seldom physically aggressive toward them, though he not infrequently attacks them verbally. Kwoma informants could remember no case of an adult son wounding or killing a parent. Since there is no relative closer than the son to retaliate for the crime, there is no direct control of patricide. Its rare occurrence is explained in part by the punishments received during childhood for aggression toward the parents, and in part by the active negative sanction that would be applied by the whole community. Members of the hamlet would consider the deed unnatural and would avoid the murderer.

A grown man is more frequently aggressive toward his *brothers* than he was during adolescence. As already noted, his *brothers'* wives take the place of his *sisters* as persons in the hamlet with whom, although they are sexually taboo, he frequently has clandestine affairs. If such behavior is suspected or discovered, it usually leads to blows or at least to an exchange of threats and insults between the *brothers* concerned. In order to avoid suspicion, a man takes great care not to look at his *brother's* wife or to be in any other way intimate with her when he is likely to be observed. This is the nearest approach to an avoidance relationship—in public, at least—that is found in Kwoma culture.

The following cases illustrate conflicts between adult *brothers* which spring from sexual jealousy. Yat accused Kar of having an affair with his wife and threatened him. Kar denied the accusation and said that it was a bad state of affairs when one was falsely accused by his *brother*. He intimated that he might break relations with Yat. They remained hostile for about a week and then apparently forgot the matter, for their relations became friendly again. A more serious case occurred between Wof and War. The latter planned to leave the hamlet for several days and asked Wof

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

885 if he would take care of his wife, Mbora, during his absence.
602 Wof agreed, and Mbora came to stay with him. When War
835 returned, someone gossiped to him that Wof had taken ad-
578 vantage of the situation and had had sexual relations with
837 Mbora. War accused Wof of adulterous behavior and threat-
ened to spear him. Wof ran away, but his wife stood her ground and counterattacked War with an adz, wounding him in the arm. In still another instance War's wife complained that while gathering firewood she had been sexually attacked by his *brother*, Takawur. War set out with a spear after Takawur, and would have killed him had he not fled from the tribe. He still lives in exile.

421 Fighting between *brothers* sometimes results from eco-
578 nomic conflicts. The responsibility for maintaining his prop-
602 erty against theft and trespass, which a man assumes as an
593 adult, sometimes generates enough antagonism between
[885] *brothers* to overcome communal disapproval and their early training against fighting one another. The following case illustrates such a conflict. Kwal and Daw, two brothers in their early thirties, lived in adjoining houses. One day, while Kwal was away working, Daw climbed an areca palm which they owned in common and began to gather the nuts. Kwal's wife told Daw to stop, as the nuts were not yet ripe, and, when he paid no attention, began to insult him. Daw, stung by her insults, climbed down the tree and beat her with the handle of a spear. When Kwal returned home and was told by his wife how Daw had treated her, he set upon his brother with a stave, and the two battled until Daw received a severe blow on his head.

578 The reaction of the community indicates the sanction on
593 fraternal aggression. Daw and Kwal shouted angrily at one
626 another during the fight, and when the former received the blow on his head he cried out as though he were mortally wounded. As soon as the sounds of the fracas were heard, nearly everyone in the hamlet rushed to the scene. When I arrived, the battle was over and several persons were standing by each contestant. Mes was supporting Daw, who stood trembling with blood flowing down his cheek from a cut in his

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

scalp. Most of the spectators formed a neutral group between Kwal and Daw. When they had discovered what had happened, they began to discuss the merits of the case and were divided in their opinion as to which brother was right. Since Kwal and Daw were real brothers, the only persons who could take sides, being more nearly related to one principal than to the other, were their wives and children. The children were not grown up, and their reaction was one of fear, but the respective wives stood, eyes blazing, with digging sticks in hand ready to join in the fray. When I asked the spectators their opinion of the affair, they said that after all it was Kwal's and Daw's business to fight if they wanted to, but that they were stupid to injure one another since brothers should stand together against trouble from an outsider rather than quarrel among themselves. This opinion represents the communal sanction which is imposed on fighting between brothers. As can be seen, the direct social control of fraternal aggression is minimal. From this it might be expected that fights between brothers would occur frequently. This case, however, was the only one in which brothers actually came to blows during a period of seven months. This indicates that the disadvantages of in-group aggression and the advantages of fraternal cooperation have been well learned during the socialization process.

When a fight occurs between *brothers* who are not closely related by blood, their relatives rally in support of them. If the dispute is not serious, it usually ceases after an exchange of invective. If the affair cannot be settled in this way, members of the hamlet who are not emotionally involved try to discover the blame and suggest a settlement. The discussion usually takes place by shouting from house to house, but sometimes the men will gather at the house tamberan and hold court. If even these measures fail to settle the dispute, a permanent rift may result, and the minority group may withdraw from the hamlet.

The division of a hamlet as a result of a dispute between its members is not uncommon in Kwoma society. Such a split had occurred in the not-too-distant past in each of the three

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

621 sibs of the subtribe in which I lived. Rumbima, for example,
578 had at one time been the only hamlet of Hayamakwo. A
[514] number of years before my arrival a small group had seceded
[346] as a result of a quarrel which started when someone defecated in the house tamberan. Accusations and counteraccusations led to the formation of two groups who would not compromise. The smaller group left and moved to another local-
[648] ity to make a hamlet and house tamberan of their own. Some years later, the Australian Government, in a punitive expedition against the tribe, killed seventeen members of the two hamlets and burnt both house tamberans. During the process of rehabilitation, the two groups decided to recombine to build a single new house tamberan. In deciding the site for the new building, however, a new dissension arose, and a new fission resulted. The larger group built the house tamberan and the surrounding dwellings of the present Rumbima hamlet. There were not enough men in the other group to build a house tamberan, so they lived in a hamlet without one, and were therefore called *sumwe sumwe*, "without." Such fissions as these lead to deprivations which the Kwoma well appreciate. They weaken the defensive power of the in-group, and make large coöperative endeavors such as building a house tamberan more difficult. They even interfere with the cooperative work of building dwellings and clearing garden sites, easy tasks for a large number of men, but arduous for a few. The importance of these factors in controlling in-group aggression should not be underestimated. Parents continually stress their value.

• 593 A Kwoma man sometimes reacts to annoyances from his
578 wife by scolding or beating her; sometimes he submits to them. Although he has more practice in physical combat than she, knows how to use a spear, and is living among his own kin, who are pledged to support him, she too has some very
[754] effective weapons. She has access to his food leavings and other sorcery material, which she may take to a sorcerer if she becomes sufficiently angry. Of course, she does this in the face of the negative sanction against sorcery. The husband may even kill her if he discovers the crime. Nevertheless, she

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

has plenty of opportunity to take material without being discovered, and the fear that she will do so is a strong deterrent to his aggression. In addition to this weapon, she has the support of her own relatives if he maltreats her, particularly before he has paid the bride-price. Finally, she is free to leave him, an act which lowers him in the eyes of the community and is an economic and sexual loss.

Disputes between husband and wife arise for a variety of reasons. A wife may fail to do her share in the economic duties of the household, she may be openly unfaithful, or she may be annoying in a variety of minor ways. The following cases illustrate conflicts between husband and wife. One evening, when the mosquitoes were more plentiful than usual, Kaya began to complain about them. Wof, her husband, became annoyed at her carping and told her to stop. This started an argument which ended by his pounding her on the back with his fist. Kaya began to wail, and Wof left the house.

War on one occasion became angered at one of his wives and thrust a spear through her leg. Mey, who reported the case to me, said that he took care to thrust it into her leg rather than into a vital spot, because by killing her he would lose both a wife and the money he had paid for her. He also reported that before this event she had been very disobedient to War, but that afterwards she was a dutiful wife. Cases of men beating their wives as a result of the suspicion or knowledge that they were unfaithful are numerous. A man does not always react to frustrations imposed by his wife with aggression; he often submits to them. A homely example of such a reaction occurred one night when I was sitting by a fire in front of my house with a group of men. While we were talking, a gong sounded from down the mountainside. One of the men sighed, picked up his net bag, and trudged off. The gong had been a message from his wife telling him to return home immediately.

Since the way in which a child behaves toward his parents as he grows from infancy to adulthood has been described in detail, much of how parents behave toward their children has

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

593 already been told. The status of father and mother is important enough to summarize here, however, even at the risk of repetition. By the time a Kwoma couple marry, they are well aware of the assets of a large family. They know that a son will help with gardening, housebuilding, and the other economic tasks, that, when he grows up, he will stand by them in the struggle against sorcery and in disputes over property, that he will increase the prestige of the family in the community, and finally that he will support them when they grow old. The young couple know that a daughter is also an asset. She will help with economic tasks until she marries and [583] she will also bring prestige to them. Furthermore, her bride- [842] price will bring in shell money which the sons will need to pay for their wives. For these reasons a man and woman set out [586] to produce children as quickly as possible and are gravely disappointed if they cannot do so. Indeed, a barren marriage often leads to divorce.[39]

842 The Kwoma believe that a fetus is formed from the mix-
843 ture of the woman's blood and the man's sperm and that repeated insemination is necessary to cause fertilization. They know that the cessation of menstruation is a sign of pregnancy, but do not cease their sexual relations until the woman is big with child. A woman observes certain food taboos during pregnancy. She does not eat certain kinds of fish, flying fox, or cassowary in order to insure a normal and healthy child, and she may not eat birds lest the child grow feathers in place of hair.

844 When the expectant mother goes into labor, her husband must leave the house, and he and all other men must stay away until the child is delivered. Her own mother is called to attend her, and the adult women of the household or near- [754] by households assist. These women take charge of the baby when it is born, cut the umbilical cord, and bury the placenta under the floor of the house to prevent it from coming into the hands of a sorcerer.

[597] [39] I am not certain whether barrenness constitutes formal grounds for divorce. The fact that there were several couples still married, who had no children except by adoption, suggests that it is not. In two of the four cases of divorce on which I have detailed information, barrenness was given as one of the reasons for the separation.

I: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

the hands of a sorcerer. As soon as the mother is able, she takes care of the baby and nurses it.[40] Both parents show special concern for the child until his fontanel closes,[41] as they believe that he is particularly susceptible to sorcery during this time. For this reason the mother stays at home and does not receive visitors. The father, in order to insure the child's safety during this period, does not chew betel, or scratch himself except with a stick, and he holds his cigarettes between tweezers.[42]

Under certain circumstances, when the parents do not wish to bring up an infant, they may either offer it for adoption or kill it. If a woman gives birth to a monstrosity, she disposes of it as soon as it is born. She treats one of twins in the same way. Parents may decide not to bring up a normal child when there are already several children of one sex in the family and the new baby is of the same sex. If the children are all girls, for example, there will be no one to inherit the land nor to protect and care for the parents in their old age, so the mother may offer for adoption or kill a new girl infant in order to free herself more quickly to produce another child with the hope that it be a boy. Similarly, a boy infant may be killed or offered for adoption if the previous children are all male, since it will be very difficult to obtain sufficient shell money to pay for their wives if they have no sisters. The optimal family, therefore, is one in which boys and girls are equally balanced. Infanticide and adoption are employed to approximate this ratio.

The mother has full responsibility for the immediate physical care of her offspring during infancy. For the first few months she permits no one else to handle the infant, but after this she allows her co-wife to give her short respites. She may permit the father, uncle, or aunt to hold the infant for a few moments for their amusement, but she rarely intrusts it to

[40] The above information was obtained from male informants and hence is incomplete and not necessarily reliable.

[41] Informants described this as "when the baby's heart stops beating on the top of his head."

[42] A man observes these same taboos when he plants yams.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

854 an older sibling and then only under her direct supervision.
• 593 The father's duty with respect to the well-being of his infant
[754] is primarily to take special precautions against sorcery and to be ready to issue a strong anti-sorcery protest the moment the infant becomes ill. Unless he has a second wife or daughter old enough to work, he may have to cook his own meals, process sago flour alone, and make some reciprocal arrangements with the wife or daughter of a brother to supply his
[853] household with wood or water. The mother may not indulge in sexual intercourse during the infancy of her offspring lest she be forced to wean it while it is, according to Kwoma standards, too young. Thus the birth of an infant necessitates considerable changes in the habits of both its father and its mother and is a burden to them as well as a promised asset. Despite this, Kwoma parents may not express annoyance at these frustrations by hurting the infant in any way; they may not even punish it except very mildly and only under the circumstances which have been described. This prohibition seems to be effected more by the fact that it is incompatible with the strong wish for children than by any direct sanctions.

593 It is not necessary to repeat here the details of the behavior of Kwoma parents toward their child as he passes through the various stages from infancy to adulthood, since these facts may be inferred from previous chapters. It may simply be stated, however, that the parents take the final responsibility for their child's well-being and for teaching him to behave in the way that the culture dictates as right and proper.
[626] Parents who neglect their children are censured by other
[684] members of the hamlet. Takawur, for example, had to flee from the tribe after he attempted to rape War's wife. He left his young son, Gwamp, behind him at Kwoma. Way, Takawur's brother, took care of Gwamp. Although the event had occurred several years before, Takawur is still criticized for not providing for his son, whereas the rape is now no longer held against him.

602 Although a *brother* is separated from his *sister* when the
[591] latter marries and moves away from the hamlet, they con-

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

Furthermore, a man who has not taken a head is held in contempt by his wife. Yat explained to me why he went on a raid. "I was angry with my wife one day and began to beat her. She taunted me. She said, 'You are very brave when it comes to beating women, but fighting a man is quite different. If you had taken a head, I would not complain when you beat me. It makes me ashamed to be married to a man who dares beat only his wife.' My belly became hot with anger at this taunt, so I went down to the house tamberan and called together my friends. We planned a raid and carried it out. I came back with a head between my teeth and showed it to my wife. Since then she has not complained when I beat her. Many of us Kwoma go on raids because we are taunted in this way by our wives."

In addition to the motives of vengeance and prestige, a head-hunting raid is a means of expressing aggression in displaced form. Much of the aggression generated in the in-group is inhibited from direct expression by the sanctions against aggression toward members of one's hamlet, relatives, and certain non-relatives. There are no sanctions, however, against killing a foreigner on a head-hunting raid, so that in this way a man can express much of the aggression which he has had to inhibit.

The following case concerns the genesis of a head-hunting raid which took place during my stay in Kwoma. It illustrates, in particular, how a raid may be a means of expressing aggression in a displaced form. War, a man of considerable prestige in the community, owned and operated a garden in common with his two younger brothers, Kar and Kis. One day War and Kar were working on this garden with their wives. War returned to the hamlet in the afternoon, leaving Kar and the two wives to spend the night in the bush house. He gave his own wife orders to weed a certain portion of the garden before he returned the next afternoon. When he returned he found the work not yet done. He asked his wife for an explanation, and she said that she had been possessed by a ghost the night before and that this had upset her so that she had been unable to work. Kar's wife said that this was

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

721 not the explanation at all. The real reason why the work was
• 593 undone, she said, was that the woman had spent the morning
578 in the bushes with Kar. War became furious at this, knocked his wife down with his fist, and threatened to spear his brother Kar. Kar denied the accusation indignantly, saying that his wife had merely invented the story to get him in trouble, whereupon he, in turn, clouted his own wife. War was still suspicious, but did not proceed further against Kar. War's
[586] wife, however, returned in a fury to the hamlet, packed her things, took her young daughter by the hand,[51] and left before War returned. Kar, who had arrived before she left, tried to dissuade her, but did not succeed. When War returned that evening and found his wife gone, he was even
[302] more angry than before. He painted his face with clay and swore that he would not take it off until he had brought her back or killed the man to whom she had fled. The next day he traced her to Yelagu, a neighboring tribe consisting of only six families. He took three spears and set out alone to bring back his runaway wife. Someone warned the Yelagu that he was coming, so that when he arrived there was only a cripple left in the village. War demanded where his wife had gone, but the cripple either could not or would not tell him and offered him a dog and some shell money if War would spare his life. War demanded more money, took it and the dog, and returned home.

721 The next evening War called his friends and relatives together. He distributed the dog meat among them, told them what had happened, and suggested that they go on a head-hunting raid against the Yelagu. He argued that it was a very small tribe and that they were all cowards. He said that it would be a good opportunity for some of the young men who had not yet taken a head to do so. He admitted that he was interested in getting his wife back and teaching her a lesson, and in punishing the man who had harbored her.
[648] Most of those present thought that it was a good idea, but several objected on the grounds that Yelagu was too near

[51] Theoretically she should have left her daughter with her husband, since children belong to their father's hamlet.

123 the child didn't seem to mind. I played with him, much to the amusement of the women. Then I gave him back to Yat who played with him for a moment and passed the child to Kar. He gave the baby to Haub who took it to its mother.

124 754 We talked about Suw; Kar, Kis and Yat said that it was sorcery and went over the rigamarole about making sorcery that it was a native custom and that if the important men of Hongsem would come to see the boy, he wouldn't be sick. If they came, the sorcery would go away and he would be better again.

614 593 562 [591] [241] [423] The importance of a son's growing up to take over the activities of the sib was stressed. Girls are not important because when they marry, they go to another house tamberan. The boys are important because they are needed to take care of the coconut trees, betel nut, and other crops planted here. They stressed the fact that the ground itself belonged to them, needed caretakers, and told the story of the projected new house tamberan to be built when Owiyap, Hay, Fit, Mar, Kum, and Gampi were big enough.

114 [443] [685] December 16, 1936. I wrote letters all day. We got news that Suw was better "liklik". Today is the market with Yambon--Haub went down and found his canoe has been smashed by Brugnuwi; he was annoyed and wants to go to Ambunti to make court. We told him it was alright. He has to wait for the Yambons who are buying a pig from Marok for their sing-sing -- so he went to help them. Soon after lunch Tip's naremboy, Mangwiyaf, and three or four others came in, 'Sourpuss' being one of them. We talked with them. Mangwiyaf said that his canoe (the one Eve's boy took) was at Ambunti and asked if we would bring it back for him. We agreed. Then he said that the second bunch of bananas were pretty nearly ripe, and he would bring them in. Mangwiyaf had sat down and pretty soon when our talk ran out, he lay

648 Overall cane, he would get boys in spite of their population policy. Later
464 Yat and Kar said that they, the "finish timers" who have already worked on a white plantation, do not want to go back to work, but some of the young people can go. Mar said he wouldn't go because he might get sick and die. Maybe it is because he is a "Rumbiman true" (loyal to Rumbima).

123 January 15, 1937. We arrived the day before yesterday from Ambunti. We saw Kar, Yat, Wof, and the children about. They all seemed glad to see me and repeated that they thought of us when we were gone, and were "sori long tu felo".

[755] War did not come to see us because he was ill. That night the gongs
[754] were beaten to fight off sorcery. I went to see him the next day, and he was very weak, but all right. Mar and Kar both told me that he been sorcerised along with Suw, Mar, and the others by people, probably of Wenyabanrara because they were friends of ours and the others were jealous of them. War asked us how long we were going to stay. I told him that I didn't know, and he said he was asking nothing and wanted us to stay a long time. This was seconded by his wife who seemed glad to see me also.

578 January 16, 1937. I was talking with a group who had just launched a canoe
593 that they had made, when loud voices were heard down below. Everyone dropped what he was doing, and after listening for a moment announced "Tait i kum up nau" (There is going to be a fight) with serious faces. They ran to the scene of action--down the hill about 5 minutes beyond Marok's house. Mar and I set out behind them, and when we got to the scene of action, Hwal, a man of about 35 who did not talk pidgin, was leaning against Mas talking very excitedly. His face was very white and he was trembling (with excitement? suppressed anger? fear?). He was one of the principals: his elder brother Dew was the other. He was standing in front

578 of the house holding a large club, talking in a loud voice as was almost
593 everyone else of a group of about a dozen or so which had gathered. Daw's wife was near the center of the group with a digging stick in her hand. She is a strapping, good-looking young woman, and her eyes were shining with anger. Wof, Way, and Waramma, aside from the principals and the women, were doing most of the talking. Kwel went and sat inside the porch after a while; Daw, still trembling, dropped his weapon after a bit and told his wife to go back to her house. The houses are only about 20 feet apart and facing each other. It was rather difficult to find out what the trouble was, but as near as I could make out, Daw had been away all day and had come back to find his betel nut stolen from the tree near his house. This was the culmination of several thefts, and he suspected his brother, and accused him. His wife was evidently the leader in the accusation, for Kwel grabbed a spear and began belaboring her with the handle of it. At this Daw grabbed up a 1 x 3" slab of 'limbom' about 4 feet long and cracked Kwel over the scull, breaking the skin and raising a nasty lump. What happened next I don't know, except as I was coming down the hill, I heard someone howling. The difference seemed to be settled, for everyone began to talk of other things. The two sulked while I stayed there about a half hour but joined a little in the conversation. After I had gone, I heard some more rather loud voices, but nothing happened. Mas, who came
[123] up afterward, said it had been settled. Kwel visited in the evening, and I put iodine on his cut. Gwiyap did not go down. Mas arrived before Mar and I. The people of Tug were also there. The doctor and Wonyamanj and a couple of others sat aside by themselves. Whether the accusation was just or not, I could not tell. I asked if it were usual for brothers to fight, and he replied that it was the custom of the tribe. The words

528 593 lage kumoyi were frequently spoken by the onlookers, and I gathered that this meant that brothers should be friends, or something of the sort.

January 18, 1937. Revision: Kis said that Daw was not angry because of theft, but because his brother had picked the betel papers before they were ripe.

123 177 439 January 17, 1987. The day before yesterday, Mar's sister Awa wanted to buy a harmonica. I told her I would give her one for 10 yams. She brought five and Fit eight, as he also wanted one. I persisted with 10 as the number required, so Awa gave 2 of her yams to Fit to fill his quota. She didn't want anything else with her 3 yams, but was disappointed at not getting her "musik". I felt sorry for her, so I told her that if she would make me a little net bag, I would give her one. The next day she brought one up, a nice little new one, and I gave her the "musik". She went running home with it. Pretty soon there were loud voices, and she came back with her "musik" looking rather upset and wanted to call off the bargain. I asked what the matter was; she said that Wof's wife had [975] become very cross about it and had told her that the harmonica would bring gambas (ghosts) if she blew it and that she could not have it. Mar's mother sided with her daughter, but to no avail, and she was forced to bring the "musik" back.

Tip's narembei came in and was very glad to see me and asked for his friend. He was very sorry that he was not there. He was present when Awa [415] brought back the harmonica and said that he would buy it. He had a very special net bag with two compartments which he would give me for the harmonica. He said he was a good man, and if I would give him the harmonica now, he would send the net bag in by one of his children the next day. He kept his word, and one of the children came with the net bag and the harmonica in it. I took the net bag and gave the harmonica back to the child and all was well.

114 We finally arrived home, pretty well exhausted. Mundik had brought his load to the house, dropped the axes and gone off, saying he was going to get something to eat. I told my story to Bob and Tip. The former laughed at my fears. He said that he had been there three years before and stayed for several days without any trouble. Both Tip and Bob felt the Eve tale a fake.

648 While I was gone, Bob had gotten another recruit--May. He is about
464 thirty, somewhat of a dandy; he usually walks about with a long white feather in his comb and is very careful of his personal appearance. He speaks in a low musical voice, slowly, giving the impression of thoughtfulness. He was the one at the Hokwi ceremony who grabbed the spear and went dancing with it around the water drum. Tip said that he had come in the morning and had sat by the cook house for a couple of hours and then finally had said that he wanted to sign up. A short while later, four youths from Weyambank came, accompanied by the Tultul and Sow. They also signed on. The recruiter decided that it was best to go at once, before
● [593] they ran away. May and the boys looked rather frightened. When the time came for them to go, all their mothers, sisters, and wives came up and began wailing as at a funeral. Their older relatives broke their lime gourds and rubbed the lime on the shoulders of the recruits. Others came up and rubbed the lime on them too. There was much embracing and excited talking. Tears were streaming down the faces of the women. It was a scene of hysteria.

To add to the confusion, Mundik had not appeared, and there was much excited yelling for him, but to no avail, and finally Bob and Tip went off with them.

578 Kar came up in the afternoon in quite an agitated state saying that
754 Kumb had thought he had "pushed" his wife and was going to "make poison"

back from the bush. The drums went again this afternoon, and it was pretty well authenticated to be an old woman from Wenya, whose grandchildren were being called from working in a garden over on the edge of Ambunti mountain.

January 30, 1937. Last night I heard talking for quite a while in a loud voice. At first I could hear no responses, but finally I heard a woman answering angrily. After fifteen minutes of this the woman began wailing. Then she spoke a half a dozen words very quickly and then "O - O" on a low tone, and finally repeated it. All this was kept up for five minutes when she burst into actual sobbing. Wof was talking in a loud voice all the time.

This morning Gwiyap said that Wof's wife had complained that she did not have enough food to eat and Wof was tired of her complaining (the day before yesterday I stopped in and Kaya had what looked like a sprained ankle which had been cut with a razor according to native medical theory.) Her temples had also been cut. She held her foot up for me and moaned how much it pained. Gwiyap and Mar who were with me were very anxious for me to leave; they would not talk about it, so I was not able to find out much. The incident of last night had something to do with this, but again Gwiyap was loath to talk.

January 29, 1937. Afalowanj came and sold me a carved wooden figure. I paid him with a pair of scissors. He pretended to cut off his penis with it and evoked a laugh from all those present.

January 30, 1937. I got a letter from Eve today saying that he had arrived safely, so the rumor was false. I told Gwiyap and May this and asked them if they had actually heard that the Tangwishamps wanted to kill us, and they now admitted that they hadn't, although before they swore that they had.

838 finger at him. Later I asked May if sodomy was the fashion among the Kwoma. He replied that it was the custom of the Markam (tribe from which Wisep [829] came). Then I asked him if the Hongwom understood this, and he said, "I think?" and walked away. He did not seem to be embarrassed or shocked, but did not like to talk about it.

578 Guiyap, Wisep and Marur went in to the station. May just came in with
602 his net bag, (bilum) which was empty except for a broken glass (the one which Bob had given him). He was quite upset. Fit, it seems, in revenge for yesterday's fight had emptied his bag, stolen a knife and a spoon from it, and broken the mirror, and then had left to stay with his mother who lived in Wenya (his mother was formerly married to Mar's father's younger brother). May had told Mar's mother about this, and she had railed about the incident. This is not a thing that brothers should do. She told May to wait until Fit came back and then get his net bag and do the same to it. This May plans to do.

I went to visit Wof. He and his wife were there sitting in the [123] porch section. Wof got up and greeted me very warmly and obsequiously.

123 Wof sat down and began scowling. His wife was preoccupied and did not
593 greet me as effusively as usual. Kum was standing at the side of the
595 house with his back to us, and Kaya (Wof's first wife) spoke to him sharply, scolded him for something, and I noticed that he was sobbing quietly. I asked what was the matter, and May said that his mother had gone away, and he was crying for her (May had joined in the scolding and so had Wof). Mas who was sitting there said, "Oh, don't do that."

Kum had been sitting on a log in front of the house, and now he started wandering around the porch. Wof barked at him, and he sat down quickly looking very sheepish and scared. (May told me later that he, Kum,

123 593 595 had stolen some of Wof's tobacco that morning and he had scolded him for this). "Stop wandering about the house, you little thief". Ham said nothing but soon announced that he was going and asked me if I was coming too.

123 [613] [252] I left and went down to War's house. He was asleep in the porch on a sago slab with a head rest when I got there. His wife was sitting by the fire frying sago fritters. War got up slowly and greeted me, putting his arm lightly across my shoulders. Then he brushed off the slab seat (also a couch) for me, and we sat down on it. His wife greeted me warmly. I asked about Kis and Kar; they were both still in the bush. A little later Kis's no. 2 wife came in. She is a well-built woman of about 19. [482] She was carrying a heavily laden net bag with coconuts, sugar cane, native spinach and large leaves used to wrap boiled sago. She sat down on a box [521] across the room from us and talked with War and his wife. The talk was of daily happenings. I could not understand it very well, but there was [522] an air of pleasantry and light laughter. Once she said something that struck them all as amusing, and she thrust her hands down over her genitals and rocked back and forth in glee. All the time they were talking, War sat with his back to the women looking out of the house. He never looked at her directly. She would look at me furtively every once in a while, and if I caught her glance, she would giggle and look away quickly. Ham and [524] Kwee had brought a ball with them. Once it rolled to where Sungay was now sitting by the other fire frying sago fritters. I put my hand out for her [152] to throw it back. She became very embarrassed, laughed foolishly, looked away, threw it, and then covered her face with her hands , her breasts [522] with her elbows and drew her legs up. War and his wife laughed heartily at her embarrassment.

123 at her embarrassment. I asked where Suw was, and they said that he was
[322] asleep. I saw a partly finished sugilawas (carved figure) roughly
[412] blocked out from a chunk of wood. All the work so far had been done with an adze. He had two--one with a bit about 3/4 inch wide and another 1½ inches. The finishing touches are done with a knife.

855 Suw woke up and came out and crawled into his mother's lap. I came back
123 into the porch and Suw was a little frightened and clung to his mother, held one of her breasts with one hand and put his head between her breasts. I playfully hit Ham on the tail with my walking stick, and Suw began to whimper. His mother held him close to her and soothed him and then laughingly explained to me that he was afraid because I had hit Ham. The ball rolled over to Suw and his mother, and she picked it up and handed it to him to throw which he did. Later it rolled over to the other side of the house, and the kids told Suw to go and get it. His mother spoke softly to him pointing toward the ball and urging him on with a little shove. He looked at it for a while and then turned back to his mother with his finger in his mouth and cuddled up to her.

262 Then it was time to eat. Ham brought War three pieces of rolled
123 boiled sago and a half dozen roast sugar cane sprouts. His wife then asked me if I would like a sago fritter. I said yes, so she tore off a piece and wrapped it around a roast sugar cane heart and gave it to Ham who brought it to me. It was quite good, the fritter rather rubbery, but the roast heart of sugar cane excellent.

593 I went back to Wof's. He was still in a dour mood and so was his wife; he snapped at May and at Owiyap's little sister for not making the sago properly. Wof's wife sent May for the chop sticks to make the sago.

593 [353] 123 There were several stored in the thatch. Twice May took down the wrong ones and she was very cross with him. May did not answer but looked sullenly resentful. Kum was standing just outside the house looking down the path. After a while he came up near me, and I took him in my lap. He looked at me very intently saying nothing. His eyes were steady and unwavering. One finger was in the corner of his mouth. As I came up he stood near me for a moment and put his finger on my fly.

132 Someone yelled down the mountain. We all listened. The shouting was that rain was coming. I looked over the plain toward the sea and saw there was a big storm coming. For some reason this seemed to upset Wof and his wife.

578 A few moments later I saw Kaya looking down the path with a look of intense hatred. Her brows were contracted, her mouth pursed tightly, and her eyes looked unwaveringly. I wondered what it was and looked around and saw Chinawa approaching. She came up slowly with a large mat bag of money which she started to unload. No one greeted her. Her presence was absolutely ignored, and Wof was glowering at the ground. Wof cursed and slapped savagely at a fly which lit on his leg. I felt rather uncomfortable because the situation was so intense. After a few minutes I left. May came with me, and when I got to the house, I asked what the matter was. It seems that Wof had found some of his food broken into and some of it taken. He asked Kaya if she knew anything about it and she said she didn't. Then he asked Chinawa if she knew, and she would not answer, so he suspected her of stealing it and carrying it to another man for the purpose of sorcery. Almost as soon as I left, Wof's voice came up loudly. May said he was trying to find out whom she had taken the food to,

578 and telling her that she was no good and that he thought he would drive her out of the house or spear her. I asked Hey if he liked Chinuwa, and he said no; he was afraid of being sorcerized too.

593 595 754 Then he told us of War who had been sorcerized by his second wife. He had speared her in the leg and cut her with a bamboo on the arm, and after that she was good. He was careful to spear her in the leg so as not to kill her. According to Hey, this often happened in the case of the no. 2 wife. The first wife usually loved her husband and did not sorcerize him. This also is what happened if one married a woman, and she did not marry her husband of her own free will.

000 Now, a couple of hours later, Wof has just come up to the house and seems in excellent spirits. He hugged Hamb, went up and greeted Hamb's wife, and came in where I was writing. He then went out and sat glumly in the cook house.

753 February 4, 1937. Wof came up today with a big sick. His head and stomach were pained, and he asked for medicine. He had no fever, but looked pale. Someone was sorcerizing him (this might have been predicted from yesterday). I tried to pump Hey, but he was no help about yesterday's business.

123 [854] I went to see Marok but found he had gone into the bush. Then I stopped in at "Grilly's" house. His wife was sitting on the porch with an infant girl in her lap asleep. She gave me a coconut. The "lapun" in the next house was working something from a cassowary bone. His wife was [231] working on a fish net. They have three cats which they call puss.

Then I came back. A couple of women came by; they stopped and greeted me. I was doing card tricks for some children and told them to come in and watch. They giggled a bit and came in, stood in the doorway and

356 with a digging stick. Mar's oldest daughter (age 9) appeared from the
[357] back (Kar's house). She had been left to look after the house.

123 February 8, 1937. Kum came up this morning and talked until noon. Wof
came up this afternoon and moaned about everyone else getting things (the
nothing.
diwai etc. that I have been buying) while he got/ I said that if he had
something to sell, I would buy it. He brought up a spear. I had one just
like it and so I said no. He was quite hurt, so I give him a plane iron for
578 nothing. According to May, the argument between Wof and Chimwa is finished.
754 She did not give the sungeyawa (sorcery materials) to another man but kept
it in her bilum (net bag).

302 This afternoon I went to Mar's and sat down. Mar's wife (Yawapa)
was shaving Awambaka's (Mar's sister) hair. (Hair is shaved because it
will grow in strong afterward). May was there. He did not look at Mar's
578 sisters. Kum was there but left soon after and started to carry a bit of
firewood away with him. Awambaka immediately yelled at him, picked up
a broom, and threatened him with it. He dropped the firewood.

123 Mar brought out the perfume that I gave him yesterday, and I told him
593 to let his sister smell it, but he wouldn't do it.

124 Then I went to Wof's house. A group had gathered there on their way
to my house--three Haymakwa men and Mes' mother who were coming back to
[532] look at my house. I went home. The men came into my sleep room, looked at the
[778] diwais (carved figures), and we discussed who had made them and usually one
of them could tell. In the morning Kumb had said that some of the big men
were cross because I had left the figures around, so we put the most sacred
ones in a box. I showed them to the three men, and they shook their heads
and clucked their tongues and spoke in a whisper. Others had seen the same
things lying about and had not reacted half as much.

628 in the houses of their relatives here and went back the following day. Latai and another visited toward evening and were cross because the Yangwishamps asked exorbitant prices for betel pepper. (Hamb had tried 437 435 to buy some and they had asked a big knife for a rope. Finally they settled for some beads and a razor blade.)

593 Yesterday noon Kum was crying out and Chinawa answered him from down below in Wof's garden. She told him to stop his crying and then refused to answer. He kept up his crying for about half an hour. No one paid any attention to him except Owiyap and Hay who were playing ball by the house, and they made a few remarks "Pas in waus shit muting" but did nothing about it.

578 In the morning, Weyakola's oldest daughter and Kar's wife were cut by War and Marok respectively.

123 Kar slept at my house last night. He was sitting after supper talking to him; Mar called me, so I went down to his house; the fire had been put 787 out in the agayin (porch). Dim figures filled the place. It turned out that all the wives--Owiyaps sisters and Kwiyakai were gathered inside. Chinawa and Owiyap's older sister were holding Awambaka down because she was possessed by a ghost. Hay, Mar, Owiyap, Mas, and Asa had gathered outside and would rush up the path at the slightest sound. This would amuse the wives very much especially Chinawa and Ugangaya who were laughing and giggling all the time. Every once in a while Awambaka would begin to kick her feet around and try to free the firewood stick which she was holding in both hands. This would be a signal for everyone to scatter except Chinawa and Ugangaya and Mar, who would try to talk to Awa. She would either not answer at all or else with an annoyed monosyllable "muh -- leave me alone". Finally she began thrashing in earnest when Hamb appeared and

695 spear. He would finish his speech with an accusation against Wanyi or
754 Hayemakwo. This would be answered by members of these sibs. Wof and Way, and to some extent War were spokes men for Hayemakwo.

The chief accusation seemed to rest on Afalawanj, who wasn't there. The gong was beaten, but he still did not come. Sowinambi had accused him before the talk and it was said he was afraid to come. The talking went on
[264] until I left about 11:00. It had calmed down to almost nothing by the time I left, and many of the younger men were growling because they were not
[123] passing out the food yet. When I left I was given a piece of pig.

123 My friend from Tangwishamp visited and asked for matches, etc., for
[439] which he gave me some betel pepper. He asked me to go to Afokalis with him
[765] (to get me out of the way), so I went. On the way, we passed War's. War was covered with mud. He said it was because he was mourning for his
[521] father. My friend and I went down to Afokalis, where a group was gathered
754 in the house tamberan talking about the Sowinambi poisoning. We came back and stopped in at War's. Gwiyap and Mar did not want me to leave. A
[262] large group had gathered from all the sibs except Afokalis. They were
[593] cutting up dog and distributing it. It turned out that the real reason for
[628] War's mourning was that he had gone alone to Yelagu to get his wife back, but had not succeeded. He had been given pay in shells and a pig, and had not wanted me to know about it because, he was not sure that he wasn't
648 going to Yelagu to kill them. There was loud talk from the house tamberan
721 that evening and Mar said they were all bemoaning the fact that the police had come, so they could not go and wipe out the Yelagu.

224 March 2, 1937. Yat came up this noon and said that he had made a blind for catching pig in his sago patch near Ambunti. He went there the other day and found that Bwiyampa and Dowari and Mawandaya had broken it and

754 755 all the men suspected of poisoning to blow on a leaf. If the man does not do this, it is proof of his guilt. If he is the poisoner and does this, the sick person will recover.

593 [411] March 8, 1937. War went to Yelagu alone. He hald one spear poised in his hand and two others cradled in his left arm. When the Yelagus saw him coming, they all ran away--women, children, etc. One old man stayed behind. He killed a dog and gave it to War and told him that he had nothing to do with Asenampa, that she had run away, and he did not know where she was. War told him to give him some "tambu" too, which he did, and War returned. War carries three spears with him wherever he goes.

[23] [43]

342 March 11, 1937. I went to watch them building a bush house (to teach boys--Mar, Kumb, Mes, May, Gwiyap and Mar). It is a little way off on the road to the market on a small mountain. They used saplings for side posts; two center posts and ridge pole were cut. The roof was of marratta, but there were no sides. Spathes were split and two put on at a time. Then two were put on in other directions and all four tied.

000 March 12, 1937. Haysmakwa went to Sowinambi's again. Kumb was breaking ground. Kar was washing sago.

518 March 18, 1937. I came back from the station. Fit has returned. May says he will not fight him because his father said "i no nother pelo man". Despite this, however, says May, he would fight him if he wanted to.

754 578 March 21, 1937. Yesterday afternoon Kwalump and a large gang from Wenyambonkura came by. They had been to Sowinambi's for sunga mweni. They had spears. Say came to Yat's and told him that the result of the talk of the day was that since there were no Haysmakwa present, it was they who were responsible for poison. Yat grabbed a spear (so he says) and called on Nemsoy to fight, but Nemsoy refused. He came by the house towards dark

000 Amaki to hide, so he did not get his pay.

684 628 Yet came back from Tangwishamp and told me that one of the men who had worked on a white plantation and had been away for five years found that his wife, who had been staying with her brother at Urambanj, had a child two years old and was again pregnant. He was very angry. A group of Tangwishamps and Urambanj gathered at the Urambanj house tamberan with spears and had a big parley, brandishing their spears and bone daggers. The Urambanj brought pay--ten pieces of shell money. The Tangwishamps [648] were not satisfied and said that they were going to bring the case before the government. The case rests thus. The Tangwishamps said that if the Urambanji do not agree to this court, they will either kill the women or bring the police to shoot the place up.

857 883 Awa and Afi cut some sticks and made a bed outside their houses. It was a peculiar structure, but they enjoyed making it. None of the boys helped them. Fit and Mey said that they were going to make a good one the next day. Kwiya was shredding fishline. Yawa was sitting by the fire doing nothing.

501 262 313 Mar and Mes worked on their canoe. Kwiya, Awa, and Afi went to their former hamlet site in the morning to get coconuts and other food stuffs. Yawa gathered a large net bag of firewood.

226 123 April 7, 1937. Gwiyap, Kwiya and Awa went fishing, but they did not catch anything. Kaya and Chinuwa and Kum came to visit while I was still in bed. Kum was playing with the scissors and cut a hole in my net. Chinuwa scolded him and told me to fight him.

764 [593] [262] Wof and War went to Duwus to attend the funeral ceremony. This is a gong and flute ceremony but there is no dancing or singing. Food was provided by the dead man's brothers. The ceremony lasted for two days and one night.

123 He is old enough to know better. He does not belong to another sib, he belongs
685 to Rumbima--its bad business.)

224 Noel came with his eyes swollen and a big bruise on his forehead. He had
752 tried to shoot a pig, and the spear had somehow bounced back and struck him. Kwalump, War, and the others berated him for trying to shoot a pig because he was too young.

593 April 12, 1937. Some people gathered at Wof's last night and talked. There
578 were a couple of loud thumps and then Kaya started wailing. Owiyap said that she was complaining about mosquitoes, and Wof told her to be quiet or she would attract more. She persisted, and Wof hit her across the shoulders with a stave. The loud voices continued for about an hour, then abated and a little later laughter followed; Kaya and Wof laughing the loudest of all.

534 Yatiminj, Kar, War, Marok, and Mar are working on a gong. War is the boss
271 worker and is not drinking water or eating hot water until it is finished "so it will come up good."

838 This afternoon Cimpangai came in. The first thing he did was ask where his wife Masamokwat was. All afternoon he played the homosexual game with the house boys.

123 Awa came up this afternoon and wanted to know the truth of the Wayakala
685 affair (stealing). I told him, and he said it would be a good thing to "cal-abooss" him because he was a notorious sorcerer, stealing materials here and there and making trouble. May said that Way's wife had threatened to cut a kunda and threatened to beat up the house boys and me tomorrow.

Kar came saying they had talked with Way, and he was going to return the knife.

578 Tonight loud shouting was heard between Wof who was at my house and War at the house tamberan. It was a recurrence of the Yelangu affair. It

123 enforce the taboo myself, as no one would listen to them. Mar suggested
685 I go down to the house tamberan and tell this to all the men there. We
123 went down, but there was no one there. I came back and told Wof. He let
156 out a tirade--the general idea of which was that I was an impotent fool not to kick everyone out of the house, that I was afraid of them, that I ought to fight them, and that it was my own fault if I lost something. Mar called out from the house tamberan, and the conversation was repeated. Mar said little and agreed that I ought to taboo the house. When I said that it was not my custom to fight everyone, he said I was a handombas yikafa
[554] (a weak child). The attitude of all of them seemed to be that you are respected if you beat up anyone who imposes on anyone except yourself. That is, you do not admire someone who beats you up as much as you admire someone who beats someone else up. In this case you are disliked but still respected.
[554] To really be a big man one must have killed someone and be feared for sor-
[754] cery. A man who beats his wife and children is respected, and only disapproved
[593] of by those who receive the beatings, or by others if he does it to excess. In the latter case, it is still his business except that his wife's brothers
123 may retaliate. They also said when I decided to taboo the house that I
156 would forget it tomorrow, that I had always done so before, and that it was not good to be that way. They referred to the times when I have been angry with Haub and Hanaingamp for overstaying their leaves and said I would be cross with them when they came back, but forgave them.

123 The interesting thing about these criticisms of me is that despite my rationalizations about getting confidence by kindness, they are perfectly true. I can't beat somebody up in cold blood. Not that I feel I could not do it to anyone here, but I had some vague anxiety that there might be

252 up just after dawn to say they were cutting up the pig. Way, Marok, and Kar were doing the work -- Wof was looking on. Before the work was finished, War, Afok, Fokatay, and Tafalke came up. They sat around Wof's house and smoked, talked and chewed betel for ten minutes or so and then drifted off. They all sat facing away from the house, the women at the back..

501 Mes had planned to work on his canoe and came up carrying an ax. War told him to wait until he came back from Koriasi, and he would help. It wasn't worth it to ruin the canoe, as Mes and Mar were not good enough workmen. The others agreed, and Mes has given up the work.

191 [522] The house boys are teaching Afok pidgin. He treats it as a joke, and everyone is amused.

752 123 Knos came to the house and said that his father had told him not to come, but that if I wanted to put salve on his sore, I should come down there. His right eye looks pretty bad; it is secreting pus. His right cheek is cracking like roast pork. His left eye is all right, though the eyelid is still somewhat swollen.

838 123 439 576 Mes and Owiyap were playing the homosexual game, calling each other friends -- without the usual hilarity but rather unusually. Cimpangay came bringing firewood for me -- and asked for beads. Wan tok (one who speaks my language)was his greeting fof Owiyap.

436 437 Marok and his wife, Uka, Chinuwa, Yawaf, Difa, Mboran, Dar, War, and Wof went, carrying pig and two mat bags of yams contributed by Marok. Owiyap and Mar contributed a "lap lap" each. They will receive a lot of shell money in return. May would have contributed something, but he is a "monki nothing".

593 Since Nguseruka's brother was killed by the police boys, she will not come to Rumbina because there is no one to look out for her, and she may be raped or sorcerised. Otherwise she would come with money, and soup

593 would be made at her brother's house. Tomorrow soup will be made of
[262] the pig and yams at Koriasi, and everyone will eat it.

202 The gong was beaten at Afokayisa. Mar asked me to be unquiet, even
594 though I wasn't making any noise -- and listened attentively and finally ran out and shouted kwyemb na wa yato (who is coming)? There was shouting all about the place for about a minute, when everyone seemed to have gathered the news. Mar came in and told me that Tenakwot from Nawi Tuk (Tessan) had come to Latai's, and this was a call for all who were interested to come and see him. I asked Mar if he was going, and he said 'I think' and then 'No, I guess not'/ The gong had announced that someone had come and issued invitations to come, but hadn't told the man's name, or rather Mar did not know the signal for the name.

123 Mbe came back with a gouria pigeon and a small pig -- less than half grown, that he had shot. I scalded, scraped and drew it, gave bith to various of the natives who were standing around. Afok was leaving, and I gave him a fore-quarter.

000 Soon after Afok left my house, a gong sounded. It was answered from Tug. Then shouting started which kept up until after dark or at least for a couple of hours.

593 It seems that Sof was angry with his wife because he suspected her of adultery or something, and hit her over the head with an axe. She ran away to her father this morning; Sof came and dragged her back this afternoon just before Afok came back. Fokatay is at his bush house. Afok shouted, "You have worked for the white men and have strong bones. You think I am a child, but you come and try me. If you had paid for the girl, there might be some excuse for it. I would have nothing to say. But you haven't." Sof evidently answered in kind, but so far nothing has happened beyond the talk.

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501 Yatakampa and some other kids came up from Afokolis with food. Mas and Mar went to work on the canoe despite War's forbidding them to yesterday. Mas said he was not going to wait until all the men came and helped him, then they could claim a share after he and Mar had done all the work. Mar hung back a bit, but finally agreed to Mas' persuasion.

123 I told May and Gwiyap the story of Othello, and they were very much interested and much incensed at Iago. In the afternoon, after I had forgotten about telling them, May came up and said that if my cook boy "gayaman along mi ol sain" (lied to me), I was not to hear him. Gwiyap seconded the motion. They were both quite serious and worried.

In the afternoon, War came from Afokolis with Yenakwot and four others from Yessan -- they came to see me, they said. They were very proud to show them that I was able to "talk place" (speak Kwoma). I got some information [124] from them -- the language was quite different -- the conversation was mainly in Nongwem. Two youths from Wanyi came with food. The Afokolis explained to the youths who they were -- father, mother, etc. Then they placed Gwiyap; his father was Siyowa who is now dead. Then the Wanyi said that he was their ruwa and Afokolis said yes he is ruwa to Wanyi.

After they left, I was sitting in the cook house with Gwiyap. It 513 was raining and cold. I asked him if he would like to sleep by a woman to keep warm. He looked at me in surprise and said "No, I would have shame if I did this!" I asked, "Why would you be ashamed?" and he replied, "It would be very bad because the big men like War would be cross with me. [593] It's their duty to look out for me and my wives and sisters." I asked, "Suppose you're married?" Gwiyap said, "Then it would be my business, but I would still be ashamed." Mar said that a man never slept with his

513 wife. They are only in bed together to have intercourse and then sleep
593 by themselves.
[838]
262 After supper I went down to Mar's. He was eating soup. He had
584 consumed most of a small saucepan (2 quarts). He said he was thinking of Aya. I said, "Well, why don't you get her?" He said he would like to, but Way had forbidden him. I said, "Why, are you afraid of what the big men say?" Owiyap said, "Yes master." Mar is always afraid of what the big men say. "I'm not the same. If it had been me, I'd have married Aya a long time ago."

123 I hadn't been at Mar's long, before Wof sang out asking who was looking
685 out for my house. I said no one, and he told me I had better return or
754 someone would steal something. I told him everything was locked up and stayed. He grumbled for a while, and after about five minutes he sang out that he was going there. I followed. He got a firebrand and looked around the house and then gave me a lecture on the danger of leaving my house unguarded. In the first place my stuff would be stolen, and in the second, there was danger of sorcery being worked, and I and my house boys would all die. If I had a door which I could fasten, it would be all right, but since I had not, I shouldn't leave my house unattended, particularly at night. I said that it was raining, and I didn't think anyone would be abroad. He told me it made no difference -- that there were apt to be prowlers at any time. Then he said he was not cross with me but merely <u>samuto mesni</u> (explaining things) to me for my own good.

593 Wof said he had been to Koriasi and gathered pay from his sister. "Big fela more" --they had carried May's pig and Manuh's yams.

123 Then Wof asked me if I would give him an gouria pigeon to make soup to pay for lopping down trees in his garden. He stressed the fact that
114 he was my <u>laka</u> (elder sibling). I said I would. The kerosene is almost gone, so I went to bed without lighting the lamp.

114 Watakaup came in the afternoon with an invitation to come to Ambunti. I think I'll go.

April 22, 1937.. It was raining this morning, so I decided not to go to Ambunti but sent Mar and Mas to get kerosene, flour, etc. I went down to [284] War's to look at his house. The whole family was at home. The women were sewing mat bags, as well as War who was sewing a bag. Kis was working a wafa nasas from afosamp bone. Kar was lying on a bed sick.

I went up to the house tamberan to get its construction. Way was shaping the outside of a gong, but the mosquitoes drove me home. I sent 836 Owiyap and Hay to wash clothes. Owiyap came back full of excitement about Owanta. He had seen her on the way, and she let it be known she wanted to have intercourse with him. He bribed Owanta with 2 razors, one for him and one for her, to come and tell him when she next went down to get water so he could meet her there. He said he was going to ask her to come and sleep [593] with him at Wisap's house in his "klambu". She had suggested it the other night but her father had forbade her.

This afternoon he put on Mar's singlets and a brand new orange "lap lap" and went down the hill. He stayed all afternoon. Tonight he said he had called at Way's house. Owanta and her mother were there--they sat and talked. She was sitting on the bed, and he asked her if there were plenty of "nats nats." She said yes. Then he told her if they bothered her too much to come up and sleep in his mosquito net. She said she would. Owanb who was also there, said he would come too, but Owanta said no--how many people do you think the net will hold. Mar remarked that she did not call him by his name and that she told him not to go with us but to stay.

*115 about?" No answer. It was a lizard on the roof. "All the Kwoma are having
[823] intercourse now", Mar volunteered. Another pause, and "Tomorrow I will go
to my bush house". I asked him if he had work to do but he said "No,
I'll just go there. When I told him to go ahead, he added that he didn't
intend to go but was only fooling. "I'll stay here and help you." There
was another noise at which Mar jumped up and decided to go but first requested
a lantern which I didn't give him. He left, but a few minutes later he
returned saying he had forgotten the file he was going to borrow. "I saw
a ghost on the way but I chased it away. Yes." He took the file and went.
February 6, 1937.

*115 Mar's mother scolded him severely for going to the house of Mar and
584 stressed sorcery danger as the reason. Mar answered that I went with
[593] him so that it was all right. This evening he spoke to me of Aya; I asked
[754] him what was the matter with Yaya, his fiancee. He replied that she
was lazy, weak, unattractive and that her genitals were no good either.
March 3, 1937.

I went to Mar's house with Gwiyap and Mar at the latter's suggestion.
As we approached the house Mar called out for Mos who was not there.
Gwiyap knew it but had not said anything. Mar made some remarks as if
he was rather surprised and rather annoyed that Mar was not there. He
was obviously going to see the sister. He approached the house still
talking in this vein so the mother who was there could hear. He did not
go in the porch but stood up outside. Gwiyap paused before going in but
finally went in and sat down.

587 Later that day Mar told me that Wanyakowa was first married to Wonuma
837 and by him had Dogaremanu. When her husband died she went to live with
Yat. He went to work for the whites and Daguwur took care of her. One
day she went to get firewood and Daguwur followed her. When she was leaning

[i.e., probably Mos.-analyst]

Chapter IV

Case History- GWIYAP

*115 Gwiyap is about 14 years old, slim, good looking and intelligent. He
157 is quite often around the house, and is willing to do odd jobs. He begged
persistently for matches for about half an hour one day--he is persistent
[191] even after having been refused, but not objectionably so. He has learned
*115 and talks pidgin English quite well. He lives with his father's second
593 wife, and was brought up by her. Both of his parents died when he was young--
736 his mother killed in an incident with the Tangwishamps. He was carried
*115 off by his foster mother and they went to hide in the sago swamp. His
553 name was given him by the Malus with whom he stayed after the raid. His
mother had named him Woyahokwa (the ringing of an ax).

October 18, 1936. The story of the 1928 raid.

648 Gwiyap was only a small child at the time and does not remember it all
726 himself. Two police boys raped a woman while her husband and others were out
in the gardens. Men returned and killed both police boys. Three white men
and a good number of police boys came with muskets and sat down at the
house tamberan for a long time. The Mongwam hid in the house except for a
few men. Gwiyap's father carried him down to the swamp, accompanied by his
'mother'and his older brother. The police boys killed fowls, pigs, cut down
coconut trees and burned the house tamberan, and shot men and women. Somehow
Gwiyap's mother and brother were killed but his father escaped. Since then,
when white people came, patrol officers or policemen, everyone ran into the
bush.

October 20, 1936.

*115 Yesterday we went out to where they were planting yams. Gwiyap, who had
123 gone the day before, came up and seemed very pleased to see us. We
ate at Marok's house, and during the meal , Gwiyap sat down beside me and

October 28, 1936.

*115 124 [123] Gwiyap came back from the bush house the day before yesterday and seemed glad to see us. He embraced us both. He and Hay bothhbegen helping around the house, and since Hemb is gone, we officially made them houseboys and gave them "lap laps." Yesterday while we were working, Gwiyap took up a pencil and drew a picture of a couple of digging sticks--something which we had not mentioned for some time. We had drawn the material culture objects at Wof's house over a week before. We then asked him to draw a gambo (ghost). This he did--a male one first. Then we asked him to draw a female one, [831] which he also did. He mentioned that the male figure had two penises. Then he gave the names for the male and female genitals and said that one puts his penis into a vagina (laughing). We asked him the name for this, and he told us. He got a great kick out of the conversation.

October 29, 1936.

*115 - 593 Today we told Gwiyap and the other houseboys that we were going to Ambunti tomorrow. As Gwiyap wanted to come with us, we said he could, but that he would have to tell Wof, who is a sort of foster father to him. Gwiyap was incensed at this, and said Wof was not his real father and had no authority over him.

November 9, 1936.

*115 787 There was a very strong wind last night. Gwiyap came in and reported that he had dreamed of his father, who had appeared and told Gwiyap that a big wind was coming to drive away the mosquitoes. I asked him if that were

January 26, 1937.

*115 • 593 I asked Gwiyap if his father was a hard man. "Mm! hard felo lik lik!" (That's putting it mildly!") Did his father ever beat him? "Yes." Once he had asked his father for pig's meat. His father had replied that he didn't have any. Gwiyap had cried, and his father had beaten him. Gwiyap later grabbed a spear to shoot his father, but Mar's older brother had [604] prevented him. Another time his mother had been cross with him and he had run away and stayed with his nan (mother's brother) for several days until his mother had finally come and taken him back. He often went and stayed with Mar, who was his chief playmate even though he was older.

January 28, 1937.

*115 787 Gwiyap had a dream last night that he and Mar and I were going down the hill to the market place on the way to work for the white man, followed by a group of women. When we reached the foot of the hill and got into a canoe to go out to a pinnace which was waiting, the women wanted to go too and started to get into the canoe. We said that they must stop, whereupon they wailed and broke their lime gourds. We got on the pinnace and went down the river as far as Angoram, where we got onto the Montoro, which Gwiyap thought was "big tu mas (big too much). I asked him who the women were who had followed, and he said, "O, altogeder mari" (oh, all the women). Then he mentioned particularly his sisters and mother and Mar's sisters.

February 2, 1937.

*115 584 883 Gwiyap has met Way's daughter at night and today met Sowinambi's daughter on the way to Soubundura. She called him aside and said she had heard he was leaving with me but that she would wait for his return and would marry no one else. He said all right. He told me that plenty of girls would like to marry him--"plenti felo mari i laik getup long mi " When we discussed her waiting for him and the fact that he didn't intend to

March 27, 1937.

856 [123] Owiyap and Pit asked if I had ever cut my genitals and scraped them with nettles. When I replied in the negative they inquired how was it that I had come to grow. They were so convinced that this is essential to growth that they were very surprised that white men could grow without it.

April 5, 1937.

838 191 Sodomy is not openly practiced, however Owiyap says that it is practiced at Yambon.

#115 When I talk with him about the attractiveness of Khiya or Awa, although at first he talked avidly, he now seems embarrassed and changes the subject.

601 595 If a man has two wives the child calls them both nya (mother) unless the other wife is a widow of an uncle. Then he calls her nawa or nawaleka (younger uncle and elder aunt, respectively).

593 833 Intercourse after marriage is at the wife's instigation and not the man's.

April 13, 1937.

#115 291 Last night Owiyap was sitting in the mosquito netting and took off his "lap lap." He said he liked to walk about thus--he did not like to wear it.

#115 123 829 Talk turned to America, and he asked me alot of questions, particularly about the status of black skins in America. I told him that they had houses and money, and worked just as white people do, and tried to convey that their status there was much higher in relation to whites than it was in New Guinea. He asked me if black boys married white women. I said that they sometimes did. Owiyap said that he would like to go to America and stay there. He said, "If I go to America, I'll be all-a same masta," (just like a white man).

#115 787 He had a long dream last night. A woman had died and was on a platform. He did not know who she was except that her name was Tumakwo. Way was stabbing this woman with a rope which has the point of a spear. His daughter came up and held Owiyap by the arms and asked him to come with her into the bush, as she did not like what her father was doing.

*115 291 (Later) He has been walking around without his "lap lap," saying it is a "gud falo fashion."

April 16, 1937.

*115 584 Gwiyap heard that Gamri, Sowinambi's daughter on whom he has designs, said that if he married the Urambanj girl to whom he was betrothed she would kill her. This pleases Gwiyap. He said that he was going to "break talk" (break his betrothal).

April 21, 1937.

583 768 593 604 Gwiyap has not paid the large indemnity, me fender ya which is about half the bride price, for his mother's death because her brothers did not look out for her good. He therefore has broken the relationship between her brothers.

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7. Long muscle on either side of backbone is cut away from front and is left attached at the tail side.

8. Lower jaw chopped from upper on either side.

9. Shoulder joint cut through-- skin on lower half remaining.

10. Cut made in from second rib from back to the break in ribs nearest backbone and along this break out to mouth, thus removing breast bone, part of ribs, lower jaw, and first two joints of forelegs.

11. Backbone chopped and cut through at second rib from back and head, upper jaw, shoulder, and half of back removed.

12. Ribs are chopped close on either side of backbone.

13. Tail and tenderloin cut out and two hind legs seperated along back bone-- back bone and tail remaining on left side.

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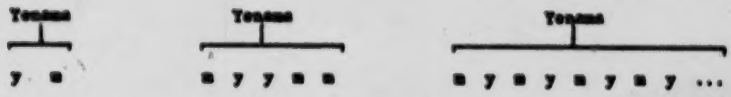
Division of parts to relatives

kwajumo	mother's brother
takŋhafi	father's sister
takimpi & sukw takwiyi	sister
masihi, amas	father's brothers
yati nakŋhiyi	brothers
manakŋi	wife and children
hokwasif	wife and children
mayi	wife and children
entrails	wife and children

Moieties

616 Normally if a man belongs to Yenama, his eldest son will be Minjama, his next eldest Yenama, and so on. If however, there is a preponderance of members in either moiety this is adjusted by shifting the alternation. Examples follow of three men and their sons and their moieties.



The equality of the moieties can also be adjusted by buying a young man with a pig into the moiety whose numbers are low. Normally a man belongs to the moiety into which he is first adopted but if chosen by the elders as a good worker, may change if he gives a pig and can sing for a long time without sitting down or sleeping.

616 The mind nguvivi (carved figures) at the yam cult ceremonies
532 associated with each moiety are for Yenama-- a number of small carved human
796 heads; and for Minjama, a full carved figure of a man and several small human
794 heads. These figures are exhibited by a member of the cult during the time of the ceremonies; at other times they are kept in the owner's dwelling.

796 Women belong as do their husbands. During a Yenama ceremony the
794 Minjama women turn their net bags toward the house tamberan; the Yenama women
616 turn the back of the bag toward it, so that the men at the other side of the
593 sib can tell their affiliations. A woman whose husband has seen both
786 ceremonies is permitted to turn her bag either way. Men of Minjama have
[837] intercourse with women of Yenama while their husbands are attending the ceremony, and vice versa.